/722 cont./

856 properly, to become well-proportioned, and to develop a beautiful figure.

That this treatment of the infant is not without a tinge of
856 magic may be seen from the way it is concluded. As soon as a
789 woman ceases the prolonged stroking, she clenches her hands and puts her fists to her mouth so that the bent thumbs touch her lips. With a sharp thrust she extends her arms out in front of her and opens her fists, palms forward and fingers outstretched. At the same time she expels her breath in a sharp "pš," as though the "unbeautiful, ugly, /723/ deformed" had been gathered together with the hands and were now being blown away. One sees this motion being practiced a great deal by the yčkamuš.

856 In this wiša process every woman is, of course, extremely gentle and sensitive; she is careful not to press on the fontanel, ayyatača, which she knows to be a very sensitive spot. For about three weeks the new infant must submit to this forming, stroking, and arranging of his little body. It causes him not the slightest discomfort.

The following belongs in the category of superstition. When
835 the sea duck, dēška (Tachyeres patachonicus), flies over the hut,
854 all the occupants are startled, for they are afraid that it will take
714 away the "spirit," that is, the vitality of the children. The adults hasten to cover all the children with pieces of leather and, with outstretched arms, they grope through the air, as though they were trying to hold back "the spirit" of the children. As though they had gathered it up in the air, they draw their arms in again and make a proffering and throwing motion toward the children, at the same time uttering a long-drawn-out "š." It is well known that immediately after birth the parents may not eat the meat of dēška, otherwise the life of the child is endangered (p. 503).

854 Most of the day the babies move freely or lie in the mother's lap. With their little hands they touch and grasp everything they can reach. They are given individual small stones and sticks, mussel shells, and little twigs that happen to lie nearby, but the Yamana do
● [524] not make actual toys. Perhaps it is too much trouble for them always to take along and carefully store toys, no matter how simple. It seems to me that Yamana babies, compared to those on Isla Grande, are much quieter and much less inclined to play. True, the mother puts all kinds of small necklaces around her darling, in order to adorn

/760 cont./

857 In true boy-fashion they inquisitively stick their noses into everything; every unusual phenomenon arouses their attention. They swarm from one spot to another and never tire of testing themselves in all kinds of feats of strength. They like best to go away from /761/ the huts, to be safe from any interruption by calls and threats of elders. Then they hunt for birds' nests and tease the fledglings, to the chagrin of the pair of feathered parents. They knock over rotted tree trunks and shout with glee if they expose and scatter a whole swarm of capricorn beetles or fat larvae. If particularly good Cyttaria fungi should entice them, they will also climb trees, otherwise not. At low tide they tumble about on the wet beach and stamp their feet down hard in puddles so that the water squirts up high on both sides. They try to catch with their hands the little fish left in shallow puddles and with short sticks dig in the sand for the razor-shell clams (Solen) when the latter squirt out a few drops of water. Tirelessly they scour the coasts and rocks; everywhere something rivets their attention and they come across novelties that provide fun for them.

I often roved about in the company of these lively youngsters. With their extraordinarily keen eyes they discovered all kinds of insignificant things and devoted themselves to them with bustling liveliness. I realized how thoroughly these children learn from their earliest youth to train their senses, especially their eyes, and to use them well.

857 147 Furthermore, it is surprising to note that these boys are never squeamish and whining, but courageous and reckless. Stark naked they trample about in the snow or in cold sea water, roll around on gravelly soil, run barefoot over rough stones on the beach, and march through thickets of thorny bushes. Afterwards they examine their many scratches and rub spittle on larger wounds, but they pay no attention to their aches and pains. When they wrestle, they hit hard and audaciously, scratch each other mercilessly, and fight until the opponent is exhausted to the point of offering no further resistance. I never saw a weaker one avoid a stronger one; sometimes a weakling even attacked a strong one and defended himself bravely.

524 868 There are no special playthings for boys. An adult, usually the father, gives them imitations of the weapons and tools that the

/781 cont./

men use on their hunts. In order to be able to handle them well, the children are taught from early childhood and must constantly practice. These articles are, of course, easily damaged or they are lost, but the adults never tire of making replacements, and the more the boy grows, the larger his implements become. One most often sees the Fuegian boy hurling the sling. It seems to be a part of him, and, following the example of the men, he wears it like a necklace around his throat where it is always and immediately handy. He likes best to aim at birds, but teasingly he will also send a stone to the ground close beside some other child. In childish innocence he will hurl /782/ stones in all directions and is sometimes so naïve about it that he must be chased away again and again from the vicinity of the huts.

Practice with short spears which adults demand of the boys seems to be less convenient and also more difficult. One of the men will call them to follow him. The target will be an old basket or, more often, the root, tanuwiliy, of the large brown alga (Macrocystis pyrifera), hiyuš. The boys are lined up not far from the target and must demonstrate their aim. They are praised or scolded according to their accomplishments. No less frequent are the archery contests with bow and arrow. It is part of the father's duty in training his sons to acquaint them early with the use of weapons. It is a vital necessity that they know how to handle them, and therefore this kind of practice is demanded of them when they are still boys (198), repeated in the youth initiation,

> 198. As Bridges (a):183 has reliably observed: "little boys early become skilful in throwing spears and stones, slinging, and making spears, etc." /cited in English/.

and continued even after that. The Yamana do not give their children a finished weapon with the bone point, which is too valuable. Straight poles pointed at one end or useless harpoon shafts serve just as well. They entrust larger boys with snares and praise their success.

Such imitations of weapons can hardly be regarded as plaything. The Fuegians do not primarily intend them to be, but

/764 cont./

524 857 On most days, if the girl is not needed by her mother, she is left to her own resources. She spends these hours among her playthings. Chiefly she takes up her doll, which is extraordinarily simple and hardly deserves the name, quite in contrast to the not unattractive article that makes the Selk'nam girls happy (Vol. I, 396). A cylindrical-shaped stone the size of one's fist or a short rounded piece of wood without any finish or ornament suffices for this yékaxéola. The girl treasures, cherishes, carries, and treats her little doll exactly the way a European girl does, sometimes she even talks to it.

The child is not supposed to play with this yékaxéola too long, and the adults soon warn her out of superstitious fear. For example, the father will say /765/ to his daughter: "If you fondle and 078 care for this stone much longer it might turn into a Sínuluwatoyinéjwa!" The latter is a person of stone in a myth told by our Yamana. Intimidated and frightened, the girl will throw the stone away and choose another as her yékaxéola, or the stuffed skin of a small bird or of a young otter. They remove the skin of these animals in one piece by turning it inside out after making a short incision in the belly. Then they stuff it tightly with dried grass or rush stalks and sew it up. With touching tenderness the girl ceaselessly runs her hand up and down it, caressing the soft otter pelt.

The child also obtains a doll in another way. She takes the carcass of an adult bird, usually a wild goose or a cormorant, cuts the skin all the way round at about the center of the bird, strips it off, dries it, fills it with dry grass, and sews up the large openings. In this way the head, neck, and breast take on their natural shapes.

857 231 In imitation of some of the women, many girls constantly go after young animals, usually a newly hatched bird. They care for it and feed it with the most loving concern, play with it, and sometimes caress it rather wildly so that the tight grip or constant tugging causes the animal pain. They take it along with them on their almost daily trips and care for it until it is ready to fly. It is not customary to clip its wings in order to keep it from flying away. If only for the sake of variety, they let the animal fly as soon as it can. For this purpose they most often choose a wild goose, a wild duck, the laughing gull, kiwáju (Larus dominicanus).

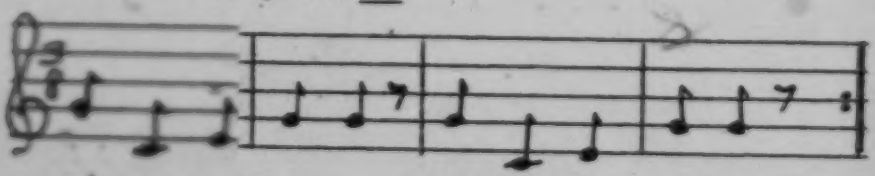
/766 cont./

and push him, tease and provoke him, tie his legs together, load him down with all kinds of things, duck him in the water, imprison him in a hollow tree trunk stuff indigestible things into his mouth, and daub him with paint; in short, they try out the craziest notions on him. The rude handling and the sudden bursts of laughter of the children frighten the dog, but although he growls and barks, he does not have the heart to bite. This is perhaps the same animal from whose furious attacks a European can sometimes scarcely defend himself (p. 296). No matter how wildly children treat a dog, their parents do not scold them for it. Occasionally, however, a child will play very affably and affectionately with one. They all treat young animals with particular tenderness.

Like the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 395), Yamana children of both sexes amuse themselves with a regular swing. A strong rope suffices, of the kind, for example, used in the large harpoon. Its ends are tied to a high branch, so that the middle part hangs down about half a meter above the ground. A child sits down on it, without using a special seat, and hangs on with both hands; another child starts it swinging by giving it a push. The little ones swing for hours until bad weather drives them into the hut (199).

199. Fitz-Roy (a):186 mentioned the swing: "Swinging between branches of trees, as our children do, is also a favourite pastime, the ropes being made of strips of sealskin" /cited in English/.

[50] Usually they endlessly repeat the five-syllable word kaiyennamála in the following rhythm: /767/



/767 cont./

857 524 The child who pushes the swing gives it enough force and speaks quickly enough so that the word ends at the moment the swing comes back to him. Sometimes parents fasten this simple swing inside their dwelling if the framework is strong enough.

The actual social games are played only when several families are assembled. No less important is a suitable combination of people, among whom there must be at least one who livens up the others and who makes the children enthusiastic. Nowadays the Yamana constitute only a very small group which scarcely ever comes together in one place; the number of children is extraordinarily small. Hence it is no wonder that they almost never play the games which were formerly very popular. The following probably represents a complete list of their group games.

Tĕlayémače: The game known by this name in the western dialect and known as talajímaša in the central dialect is exactly like the popular European "blindman's buff." Many people stand in a circle, both children and adults. Someone must let himself be blindfolded and placed inside the circle. The others stay more or less in a circle, but change places very quietly and repeatedly. Meanwhile the former goes around, touches a person, feels him all over, and says his name. If he has guessed right, the slight tension is relaxed, and amid lively talk all around, these two exchange places. Usually the "blind man" is mistaken, and the more often he blunders, because one person or another eludes his groping search, the livelier are the participation and jolly laughter of the others.

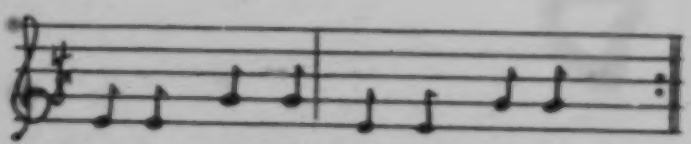
857 524 522 There are often amusing surprises. On the evening of January 16, 1922, about 20 persons were lined up to play tĕlayémače. Even the oldest women, such as Paine, Emilia, and Mary, took part with animated gaiety. When it was the latter's turn to be the "blind man," she gropingly ran into her own husband and touched him all over without recognizing him. He dexterously slipped out of his coat and left her holding it as he leaped away. Then there was such tremendous laughter that the game was interrupted for many minutes. A "blind man" must keep on searching until he guesses the name of the person he catches.

857 524 Tumutélla: Boys chiefly play this game, girls less often, and adults still less. They use a wide, gently sloping grassy area or lie

/767 cont./

down at the top of an incline, their bodies stretched out lengthwise and their arms pressed tight to their sides. They lie on the same plane, that is, in a row, not above or below one another. At a signal everyone gives himself a little push and they all roll down. They try to keep the axis of their bodies exactly crosswise to the direction of movement, but inevitably /768/ this orientation cannot be maintained, and then several of them collide or roll over each other. The participants enjoy this entertainment all by themselves, whether or not there are other people watching. It is all the more fun, of course, if there are a lot of children, if they let themselves roll down fast and if they are very animated. BD:228 mentions dala, dula, "to roll, fall as a barrel down a bank" /cited in English/.

Čenalóra: Girls and women like this game, but they also let young men and boys play; the latter sometimes play it by themselves. They stand in a row. A particularly fat person forms the beginning and the others line up behind him, the bulkier ones nearer the front, the medium-sized ones farther back, and the thin ones at the end. They all squat down, but without touching the ground with their buttocks. Everyone puts his arms around the chest of the person in front of him, and they all push up close against each other. The leader supports himself with both fists on the ground. Then the closed rank slowly begins to move straight forward, all of them simultaneously dragging first the right and then the left foot forward, at the same time rocking from left to right. The column is sometimes several meters long and even crosses puddles, for it is imitating the movement of the canoe on the waves. For this reason the game is called ananlóra, "a boat rocks on the water" (ánan, the canoe; lóra from lur-telli, "to wabble, roll as a crank canoe from side to side," /cited in English/ according to BD:285). They all sing in time to the movements of their bodies:



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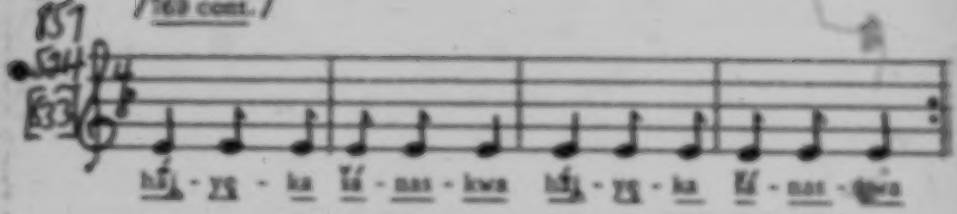
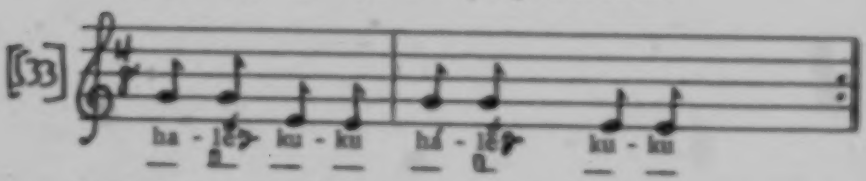


The free foot touches the ground on the first, third, and fifth syllable. It is too tiring for the dancers to keep up the song to the end. Hence the onlookers continue it and after a time accelerate it to such an extent that the dancers can no longer follow. The column disintegrates in utter confusion. Sometimes the column is allowed to extend a considerable distance from the spectators while the latter sing softer and softer as though the column were losing itself in the far distance. This game is very popular during the Kíkyam festival because it is quiet.

Halé-kuku: This game is restricted almost entirely to males. The boys and men who play it form a rather long column with a short space between each person. All of them uniformly lift either their right or left leg, stretch it out horizontally, and grasp the knee with both hands. They hop in a straight line toward a certain goal, turn here in an arc, and hop back to the starting point. This movement is strenuous, and occasionally a chap will drop the outstretched leg if his other one will no longer carry him. The participants and spectators constantly repeat the word



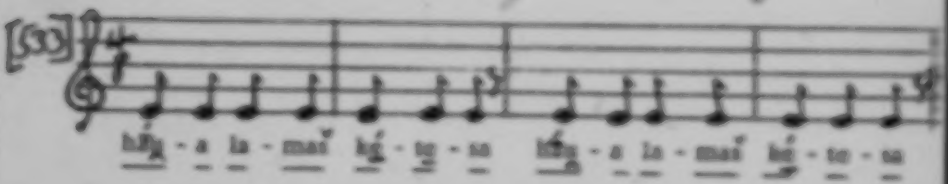
in such a way that with each second syllable the foot touches the ground.

Kakíyana: This is a sort of hopping race that children are encouraged to do. Sometimes adults take part. Everyone lifts one leg from the ground in unison, /770/ either the right or left. They let their arms hang down freely. They either form a column and move very far from the starting point, most of them dropping out from exhaustion before they reach the goal, or a few form a diagonal row and hasten toward a goal from which they must immediately

/770 cont./

526 857 return to the starting point. The one who gets back first without having fallen on his other foot is the winner. The candidates in the ciexaus were most often allowed to refresh themselves somewhat with this game.

859 534 hí̱ŋalamaĺk̓ŋsa: This is a ring game played by girls and women, to which boys are sometimes admitted. They form a circle and hold hands. A man or woman, less often a child, places himself in the center. Then the circle moves, first in one direction, then in another, with growing speed. It finally becomes a fast whirl. The person inside becomes almost dizzy. After several rotations top speed has been reached, and the players themselves lose their balance. Suddenly their circle disintegrates when they all drop hands, and everyone makes a complete turn wherever he happens to be standing and thereupon falls to the ground. During the first few rotations the entire circle squats down at brief intervals and gets up again as fast as lightning, but after the rotation become faster this is omitted. Meanwhile they uninterruptedly and with increasing speed repeat:



The word hí̱ŋalamaĺk̓ŋsa (201) comes from the western dialect.

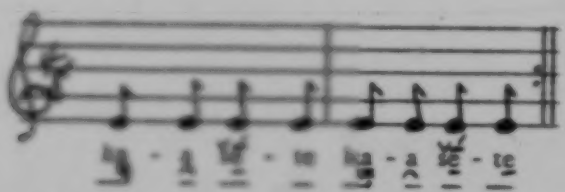
201. In BD:272 we find: " 'hoalîmâkôta,' a senseless childish play in which this word was intoned" /cited in English/.

The same game is called tukusetewînasa (202) in the southern

202. BD:474 gives: " 'tukusatuwâna,' a game and to play this game in which the players go rapidly round in circles more or fewer forming the circle till they get giddy and fall" /cited in English/.

/770 cont./

dialect; both have the same number of syllables.

Kaatle: This game shows many similarities to hăyalamaskétesa. Women and girls form a circle, put their arms around the necks of their neighbors on either side, and draw their bodies close together. A man or boy, sometimes a woman, stands in the center. As the circle slowly moves, the person in the center, holding his arms tight to his sides, tries to push between two women. As he makes an effort to do so, the women or girls draw still closer together, and despite great dexterity he usually does not succeed in breaking the circle. Only after he has made several attempts at different places do the victorious players voluntarily open up an escape for the helpless one. In case a chap succeeds /771/ in breaking through, one of the two girls between whom he escaped must usually step inside the circle. Some other chap, however, may be called upon to enter it. As the circle slowly moves, they repeat the following in a perfectly uniform and moderately fast rhythm:

This is frequently interrupted because certain parts of the circle, amid much laughter, push close together against the imprisoned man's attempts at escape. At variance with this, BD:203 gives "'haáĕata,' a certain kind of game when those who play join in a long line by putting their arms over each other's shoulders and sweep forward and veer about singing" /cited in English/.

Mĕlaĕnăĕnase: Girls primarily arrange this game. They line up side by side in a row, and each one places her hands behind the necks and on the shoulders of her neighbors. Hence they are close together. Facing forward, they advance a few short steps, meanwhile swaying in unison to the right and left. After they have gone a certain distance on level ground, the whole row turns and goes back to the starting point. Slowly moving back and forth, they ceaselessly repeat the word:

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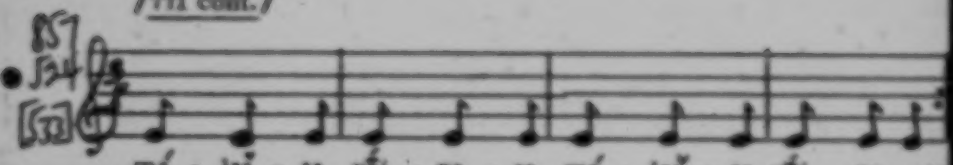
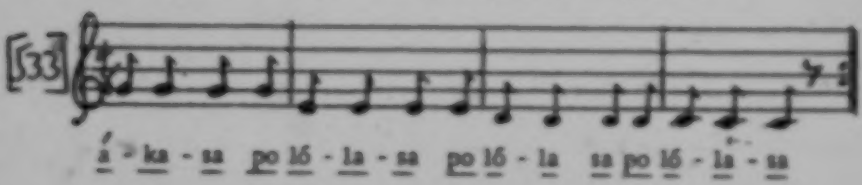


While they sing the first half of this word, that is, the first three syllables, they bend toward the right, whereas with the last three syllables they bend toward the left; at the same time they also change the step.

Akasapolólasa: This game is very similar to the preceding one and is played mostly by girls. Just as in mílaĭtaɣínasa, they form a row side by side and face forward. The row does not move forward, however, but first to one side and then to the other. Thus, their feet step sideways. While all the participants uninterruptedly and in moderate tempo repeat the long word



they bend the upper part of their bodies in unison and in rhythm with their steps from the one side to the other.

/772/ As we have said, social games are played only when several families are together and in a good mood. Once they have started, however, one game usually follows another until every one is tired or until the dark night and the rain drives them into their huts. They thoroughly refresh themselves spiritually in this way and thereafter disperse in all directions until a lucky star once more brings them together. The Yamana have a few other games, of which kílaka, a game with a ball, is the most popular. These games are played only by adults; hence a description of them is postponed for a later section on general entertainment. /Fig. 80 appears here./

857 We should refer here to a few minor pranks for which boys are always in the mood when they meet girls who are strangers or whom they might meet again. To have a little fun at their expense is, after all, a boy's nature, and the little Yamana do not

1: Gusinde--822 E-8 (1918-1924) 1937 5196 Yahgan 5196

/939 cont./

X881 really make a great effort to instruct our candidates carefully,
182 for our old laws and customs are good. Every Yamana, old and young, must adapt himself to them. I am very sad, for I see some of our younger people who neither know nor follow our habits of former times!"

X881 After a few minutes the wineſkóa called one last time:
625 "Control your eyes and do not look at the Great Hut. I shall soon go away from here." At this moment the uſwáala returned.

In conclusion the particular duty of the guard should be remembered. He must keep intruders away from the ξiɣaxan hut and see to it that inquisitive glances do not discover anything that goes on there. In order to demonstrate his watchfulness to outsiders, he repeatedly steps in front of the main entrance and a few paces away from it. He also climbs up on the hut framework where he can be seen still more plainly. Finally, he makes himself noticeable by repeated calls. Everyone is afraid of the wineſkóa and no one dares to desecrate the sanctity of the ξiɣaxan hut.

X881 6. Social Games. In the course of time the daily program
524 in the ξiɣaxan hut leads to weariness, not only for the candidates, but also for the adults. Quite generally the participants are very punctilious about their duties, and individuals among them are even over-zealous, which is not surprising among good-humored children of nature. Even experienced nerves would be unable to stand too great a strain for any length of time if there were absolutely no relaxation at certain intervals. That is precisely the deeper significance of the custom of occasionally having social games interspersed through the serious ξiɣaxan celebration. To a superficial observer this custom seems strange and irreconcilable with the strictness of the prevailing order of the day, but the decisive factor is the psychological need of the participants for /940/ occasional refreshment by means of a game, which never deteriorates into boisterousness or licentiousness since it is restrained by certain guide lines.

Inasmuch as everyone present at the initiation is pledged more or less equally to silence and quiet behavior and to all kinds of exertions and discomforts, participation in the social games is, without exception, open to all, and of course also to the uſwáala.

/940 cont./
The latter in particular are involved in almost every game, whereas the adults are free to take part as they choose. There is another consideration in the case of the candidates, namely, that they get a certain amount of practice in the individual games. The social games repeated during the youth initiation are, throughout the year, played largely by adults; children may watch them, but only now and then take part in them. Although the children immediately begin to imitate the movements by themselves, they hardly attain any proficiency worth mentioning in this or that game. It is different here in the ɛ̈ɛ̈ɔɔŋ hut where the many movements are explained to the individual ulwäla and the exact procedure demonstrated, in other words, where he is given an actual introduction to them. It is part of the education of the candidates, so to speak, to acquire a certain proficiency in social games. The adults are unstinting in their praise of a candidate who becomes especially skillful or who is very limber.

The social games, in fact, are meant to relax the mind and to relieve the body. During the game the seriousness of concentration and the rigidity of the program of duties are inevitably relaxed. In order, however, that there be no disruption of the overall procedure of the serious youth initiation, social games are permitted only every second or third day at the most. They are repeated more or less often according to the temperament of the leader, especially if there is a death during the ɛ̈ɛ̈ɔɔŋ celebration. If the mood is joyous and gay, as, for example, in the immediate vicinity of a stranded whale, the games are played more often and each one lasts longer.

Whatever the mood of those present may be, the final evening hours of the daily routine are left free for social games. This is a time when everyone present feels very exhausted and many of them are already fighting off sleep. Just before this the ulwäla were given the customary advice, which is regularly followed by a long pause for serious reflection and quiet contemplation. After that it is the purpose of the games to refresh the spirit and limber up the tortured body. Sleep is particularly pleasant afterward.

It depends on the overseer or leader on which day and at what moment the games may take place. A few older people /941/ may occasionally also provide the impetus and stimulate one

L: Gumbs--824 E-6 (1919-1924) 1967 1968 Tahgee 0008

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person or another by specific words." Usually an indefinable expectation on the part of the participants is in the air, as it were, and it needs only a bit of assistance to be realized. Special formalities are not needed.

One cannot be precise about the various kinds of games and their order of succession, for there are neither specific rules nor unalterable regulations. One group of participants has a greater preference for certain games, another group for others. The group that gains a certain predominance will inconspicuously carry out its particular wishes. Usually they rely on the inspiration of the moment, for they do not beforehand make a definite plan of procedure, nor would they stick to it. After all, they want to be relaxed and refreshed by playing a game; hence they give themselves up to it with complete abandon.

In the end it is the leader who brings the people together for the game that he happened to think of or that he personally likes very much. For example, to the thoughtful, silent group he will softly give the gentle summons: "Let us play Snegoli!" Immediately a few people turn their attention to this game; they assume a different attitude and prepare themselves for it. After several minutes two or three women get up and clear the space where the fire is. If there are still a good many embers, they scrape most of them out-of-doors through the two exits, where they are extinguished, or they will make a small pile of glowing sticks of wood near the rear exit where it will be kept going. They sprinkle water over the adobe. The entire interior, except for the sleeping-places on either side, is now at their disposal.

A few persons gather without further urging, and soon others join them. Meanwhile an expert singer will begin the melody suitable for the game they intend to play, and soon all the people present take up the rhythm. Everyone throws himself into the game and goes through all the movements with complete devotion. The enthusiasm of one group will spur the others, so that at times they are all taking part in the game and are squeezed together in one spot. At the very beginning the sponsors lead their protégés into the center, for they are almost never excluded and must even participate longer and without interruption. If one or another of the adults wants to stop for a while and goes to his place to rest,

/781 cont./

he is not prevented from doing so. When the pressure of too great a throng makes this imperative. If everyone crowds together, there is almost no freedom of movement.

After a while the interlocutors for the game calmdown. Suddenly, in a loud voice, someone will spontaneously mention another game or will start its rhythm. Most of the participants become silent rather quickly and, without hesitating, switch over to the new game. /782/ A third and even a fourth game will follow in the same way, entirely according to the inclination and whim of the company. They will enjoy themselves for an hour or two, until they are thoroughly satisfied. If, after that, a good many of the people seem listless and bored, the leader will inconspicuously indicate that everyone should now seek his sleeping-place.

The action and physical exertion have made most of them very weary, and without delay they begin to prepare for bed. One person or another will meanwhile lead into the customary low singing and continue it until he, too, gives himself up to sleep. Finally only the ulwäle and a few spinners are squatting upright in their places. When they, too, finally lie down, only a single voice will carry the song through the early hours of the night, until it is taken up by another. As we know, the singing may never entirely cease, for malevolent spirits must be kept at bay and outsiders must be convinced that all the inmates are constantly alert (p. 781).

When the last game is over it is the duty of the ulwäle to kindle the fire from the remaining faint embers, so that it will extend from one exit to the other and radiate abundant heat. All the services for the assembly and all the chores within the Great Hut are, as we know, incumbent upon the candidates.

The above description presupposes that the social games are held in the interior of the Great Hut. On a warm, quiet summer evening they may, for the sake of variety, be transferred to a level place outside, directly in front of the Great Hut. A few men-women will first start a fire, chiefly in order to illuminate the entire group. At a signal from the leader, the adults with the ulwäle in their ranks, go outside and huddle together beside the fire. Gradually the singing begins, the dance movements following its rhythm. The games change in exactly the same way as

/942 cont./

inside. After they have amused themselves sufficiently, they all, in closed ranks, slip back again into the Great Hut. While the games are going on outside, the children and adults of the camp can, of course, freely approach and watch them.

At least one person has stayed behind in the Great Hut to carry on the singing and keep watch over everything. The movements of the lively games in the fresh air are a boon to every participant, and immediately thereafter he will be blessed with sound sleep.

As we have said, there is no particular order in which the social games are chosen and repeated. They prefer those which are most familiar to a certain group or which are favorites. From my own observation I can report that the games most often played are ǽmaxel, the game of the sea-lion ǽma (Otaria jubata), and then kētčlaxel, the game of the great gerfalcon kētčla (Polyborus tharus), then gērípuxel, the game of the common albatross gērípu (Diomedea exulans), and finally, outside the Great /943/ Hut, the very popular ulpér̄ǽčixel, the game of the oyster-catcher ulpér̄ǽči (Haematopus ater). All of them, however, are eclipsed by the very popular hǽjyekalǽnaskwa. If they want to please the candidates particularly and thoroughly arouse them, they introduce the game called kakléxana (360).

360. The last two games mentioned were described on pages 588 and 589; the others will be described below.

Most of the people take a very active part in these social games. Merely the desire to limber up the body thoroughly is a strong incentive. A person who is unable to join in the dance movements for a long period is all the more fervent in his singing. One evening when the games had already begun, Adelheid, coming from the cookhut, dashed into the čiéxaus hut with excessive eagerness, placed herself beside Richard who was singing lustily, and said loudly to him: "séskin skǽja ki-wčla kúpa hawčla mútu nanǽa." "The heart of you [it] strong from above here may exist henceforth (May 'the-one-up-there' strengthen your heart here for vigorous singing!)." This one example proves that they even

/943 cont./
invoke the power from above in order to be able to take part wholeheartedly in the social games.

Every social game, just like every dance, finishes off with a loud hō, hō... or hē, hē..., which anyone utters and which is repeated by others. As we know, the constant singing is supposed to keep the evil Yetáita (361) and other dangerous spirits away

361. The following allusion does not seem to me superfluous: although soon after the start of the youth initiation the candidates are taught that "Yetaita" as such does not exist, nevertheless this supposed evil spirit is mentioned again and again, as though he were the essence of all evil powers and anxious fears which could bring great harm to the participants.

from the čiēxaus hut. The social games also have this secondary purpose. This is clearly shown during a game or during the transition from one to another when many a dancer, out of inner agitation, pulls vigorously on the hut framework and causes the whole structure to shake violently. As though alarmed, he utters the brief word "čiēxaus," shouting it loudly, as though it were an incantation or a means of warding off malevolent spirits. Finally another person will drum on the ground loudly and frantically with both fists, likewise to ward off all evil. The dancers are most stirred up to such outbursts of fear when they are already exhausted from singing and playing and are bathed in perspiration. Then their shouts and their desperate behavior have all the more threatening effects. Thus we see how these people, despite all their joy in the games, never depart altogether from the serious keynote of the čiēxaus celebration.

There is another custom which has the same purpose. Occasionally two, three, or four women run along the interior of the hut wall and beat the back of their hands or their fists against the framework. They do so to scare away the evil spirits that might annoy the people present. They also want to drive off the spirits that cause illness, /944/ so that they will forever stay away from

/944 cont./

881 789 751 this čiéxaus. In olden times it was the task of the yékamuš to "cleanse" the Great Hut from such evil influences, above all to ward off sickness and push it far away so that the nerves and muscles of the people present, which sometimes become tired and slack, remain vigorous. At the present time all this is the aim of the women who hasten through the interior and beat against the wall of the hut with their fists, with branches, or with a stick. The malevolent spirits are driven away, and all the participants retain their strength undiminished.

881 524 Finally, something Nelly once told me belongs here. Among her western group, which was to a certain extent influenced by the Halakwulup, masks were worn in former times, and these also served to entertain and encourage all the inmates of the čiéxaus hut. Out-of-doors a man or woman would put on a disguise unobserved, for which they chose exclusively the long stems of a species of grass which is scarcely to be found today (362). The person would cover his head far below the neck

362. Presumably it was Dactylis (Poa) flabellata which was also used as litter for the sleeping-place (p. 25). The stems are sometimes longer than the height of the adult Yamana and therefore very suitable for this masquerade. Today one hardly ever sees such tall stems.

with a closely woven hood of this grass in the shape of a truncated cone. Two small holes were opened for the eyes. From the neck to the ankles another woven piece covered the whole body like a tight shift. Both arms could be drawn through two sufficiently large openings, and the arms, too, including the hands, were covered with this woven material and pressed close to either side of the body. At the proper moment, this masked person would shuffle into the Great Hut and for a considerable time would stand upright, motionless and stiff, in the center aisle. Sometimes the person very slowly moved a little farther inside so that the other people could look at him more closely. On rare occasions the masker would also sit down. The group would examine

/944 cont./

X 881 him carefully and try to guess who he was, exchanging observations with glances or in a very low voice. The masker would leave after a while, without having identified himself. At any rate, this strange visit offered the gathering a refreshing change.

X 881 574 7. Visits. It is convenient to add to our description of songs and dances a brief discussion of the ceremonious visits of a separate group of people to the čiēxaus hut on any day. It is easy to guess the reason for this custom. Of necessity a few older persons remain behind in the camp while the čiéxaus celebration is going on in the Great Hut, either on account of illness or to care for the small children. They are, of course, free to come at any time, but the entire assembly also wants to thank formally those who /945/ devote themselves to the supervision of the camp. The solemn welcome is supposed to be a substitute to the outsiders for all the lovely things they must forgo. On their part, the inmates of the Great Hut feel honored by the interest of those persons who come on one occasion or another to the čiéxaus gathering. Naturally, only adults who have gone through an initiation may enter.

The visit would not take place under any circumstances unless there had been an announcement from one side or the other. Usually the outsiders who feel a compulsion to spend an evening once again among their fellow-tribesmen announce themselves. They inform the leader of their intention, either through the kitchen women or directly. Some preparation must be undertaken within the Great Hut; it would be quite impossible for the group of visitors to come there abruptly.

X 881 574 302 A good, accurate facial decoration, such as is customary for visits, is the only special preparation the visitors must make. It is unnecessary for them to paint the body. This is not the case for the people in the čiéxaus hut, who, besides their facial painting, also decorate the whole body. A background of white pigment is first applied on the face and body. Over this a red line the width of a finger runs from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes. Over the whole body, as well as on arms and legs, finger-thick red rings are drawn and spaced a hand's breadth apart. Everyone, [301] of course, wears his hapaxēl. The uswāala are decorated with particular care on this occasion to prove to the visitors how attentively the candidates are cared for.

/953 cont./

He is always supposed to have on hand, above all, the little stick of wood, tamiyáki, since he uses it to scratch the lice-bites on his head. It is said that young people should regularly use this little stick after their dismissal from the čiéxaus hut; if they used their fingernails, the latter would become brittle. If the tamiyaki is lost or wears out, the young fellow or girl can make one, if the sponsor does not happen to offer a new one. There is no definite limit as to the length of time the young people must use the little scratching stick; sooner or later, however, they simply ignore it.

/954/ A third and final gift of less significance than the two just mentioned, which only the female sponsor presents to her hẽtakuxeglan, is a pretty, dainty little basket made of rushes and specially decorated along the upper edge with a wreath of feathers. It is filled with ripe berries of Pernettya mucronata (Fig. 12 /in untranslated portion/).

The ward receives these three items as mementos. They are first of all supposed to remind him of the male and female sponsors, but even more, of the teachings and admonitions of the čiéxaus celebration. With a certain pride the uwťala shows each

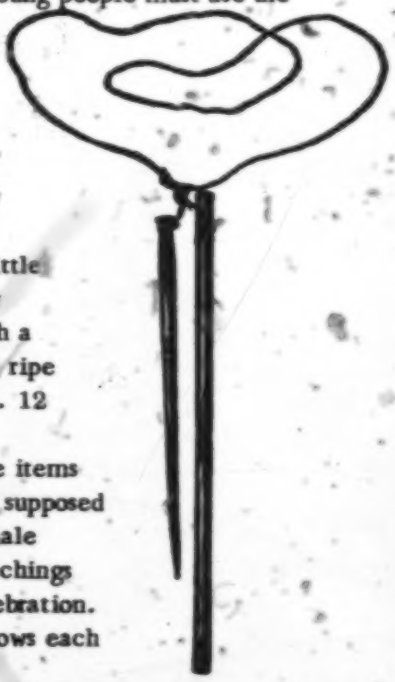

Fig. 87. Small Sucking Tube and Small Scratching Stick. One-half natural size.

of his acquaintances this certification of his successful initiation. Thus he publicly shows that he now lawfully belongs to the group of adults.

For hours the people squat around the fire and enjoy the abundant meal. Gradually they feel a desire for games. Once a beginning has been made, one game follows another. Real

/954 cont./
X881 S24 enthusiasm develops and they all divert themselves for several hours until they begin to feel exhausted. At times their eagerness borders on abandon. This is understandable, since now, no longer bound by the strict čiẽxaus program, the people are free to burst out without restraint. The young people are called upon particularly often. Here in the open, in front of everyone, they are supposed to show also the skills they have acquired in the social games which they were often called upon to join in the čiẽxaus hut (p. 813).

X881 S33 The conversations and games after the big feast finally come to an end. At the proper moment the overseer or some older person intones the tẽxer song, and all the participants promptly join in. They immediately try to assume a respectful pose and to make their voices solemn. This tẽxer song is the actual farewell song, during which all "spirits" arrange themselves and with which they are given an accompaniment back to their particular abode by the people here, just as this was done on almost every evening (p. 787). The people present, however, sing this song for themselves, too, before they take leave of each other, for today or tomorrow they will leave this place and probably not see each other again for a long time. This is why they put into the final tẽxer song all their feelings of joy and gratitude for their renewed vigor during this enjoyable, inspiring čiẽxaus celebration. The song dies away full of melancholy, and silently and for a long time thereafter everyone gives himself up to his thoughts.

X881 Gradually one person and then another get up and go back once more to the Great Hut. Here he collects his utensils, tools, and ornaments, and takes final leave of this place. Everyone takes care of his own things and moves them over to his own dwelling where, after a long time, he again settles himself for the night. If the weather is good, a family may board their canoe that same day and depart. /955/ Most of the people definitely leave the following morning and enthusiastically welcome the longed-for freedom to rove far and wide without restraint. The place where many people were still gathered together for the common celebration just a short time ago becomes depopulated surprisingly quickly.

X881 346 After that no one pays any attention to the Great Hut.

/1474/ 2. Amusements

517 524 The way the children play when several families camp in the same spot for a few days has been described (p.576). The way they tease each other in true childish fashion is shown, for example, by the use of Adenocystis alga (Fig. 80, p.593) with which wily boys surprise unsuspecting girls. Smaller as well as larger children have a great deal of fun with the swing (p.585); concerning even middle-aged persons, Bridges maintains that "the swing also they are very fond of" /cited in English/ (VSA: XII, 53;1865). The adults, too, take advantage of being together for mutual diversion and general entertainment (373).

373. Bridges (k):240 says in a very general way: "Their principal amusements are wrestling, playing with a ball, and practicing with spears, arrows, slings, and stones" /translated from Spanish/. Bridges (a):209, Outes (g):53, Spegazzini (a):170, [illegible]its in MM:X, 12;1876, and others speak of dances. These reports and the few expressions in BD are, unfortunately, incomplete. Bridges (a):209 maintained that "most of their amusements are very childish" /cited in English/; these words alone show plainly how little he understood the characteristics of those Indians.

526 The popular ball-game does not require special preparation. Anyone may call the people out of the huts to a smooth, grassy area where they form a large circle. The ball, kálaka, the size of a fist, is made of the web of the albatross, first blown up to dry, stuffed with down feathers, and finally sewn up. It is tossed up perpendicularly with the flat palm of the hand; when it returns, another player must again toss it into the air and make sure that it ascends as vertically as possible. Otherwise, it usually falls to the ground outside the circle of players, which is supposed to be avoided. Lawrence, along with Bridges (i):16, declares: "The Indians are very fond of playing at ball" /cited in English/ (MM: VI, 128;1872), which they call kálaka ǯraku. This is almost the

/1475 cont./

526 Soon a second, fourth, and sixth pair have come together, and finally all the men of one group are wrestling with those of the other. Then the women also pitch in and push the wrestling pairs to the ground. Finally, in the general melee, no one knows who can boast of having won. Thus, the ones who began the wrestling believe that their reputation has been restored and both groups separate peacefully. The women do not care for this general wrestling, for it ends in a nasty brawl.

524 The so-called imitative games are more enjoyable and much more agreeable to the Yamana because they are in such perfect accord with their nature. They reproduce the movements and the calls of certain kinds of animals with amazing accuracy. Mimicry is only a supplementary aspect, for often they repeat the melody without the body movements. These games are permitted only during the čiéxaus celebration, either in the Great Hut or in front of it (p. 822); it is the duty of the winefkē-a to keep curious persons away. At the general concluding ceremony, however, old and young may look on (p. 811). Sometimes only men or only women take part, but usually both together. Each of these games has its own melody.

The ámaxēl, the game of the sea lion (Otaria jubata). Both men and women, clumsily and ponderously, lie down close to one another in an irregular group. Some of them stretch slowly, others look around in a bored way, some prop themselves up with their hands flat, while others, half upright, drag themselves along the ground. One person will scratch his back as though his hand were a flipper; another wallows exuberantly in the sand. One person will snore loudly until his neighbor lies down on top of him, whereupon he shoots up angrily and bares his teeth to the one who disturbed him. Two other persons fondle each other, imitating male and female. This or that one will repeatedly snap shut /1476/ his wide-open mouth, as though he had caught fish in the water, make loud chewing motions, and smack his lips with delight. In the midst of all this a few persons will roar in a deep, threatening voice. While this confused tangle moves and stirs about, the spectators nearby repeat the melody and often clap their hands. The players themselves intermittently call out hoɣ-hoɣ... or rūkrúk... After some time a woman gets up and gently taps one player after

/1476 cont./

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another with a short piece of leather. Immediately each one collapses and is "dead." Lying in jumbled confusion, they remain motionless until the same woman puts a mussel shell, filled with water, to the mouth of each one; he takes a small swallow and is "alive" again. When all the players have resumed their places, the whole company concludes this extraordinarily charming game with loud, high-pitched cries of hō hō.

The haśuwápisa-xēl, game of the blue whale (Balaenoptera intermedia). This is a game for men only. At least 12 of them sit down on the ground; each one spreads his outstretched legs apart and leans with his back close against the chest of the man behind him. The latter puts both arms under the armpits of the man in front of him and holds him tightly. The man sitting at the head of the row rests both fists on the ground and braces himself firmly against the man behind him. Swaying from one side to the other, the whole row clumsily slides slowly from the spot, naturally in the direction opposite the one they are facing. At short intervals all the men howl while the women present uninterruptedly carry on the slow, rhythmic song. Finally a woman hastens along the entire row and gently slaps each man with a piece of skin, whereupon the men in the row lie down on their sides and "the whale is now dead." This game is supposed to show the final clumsy movements of a whale that has been tossed up on the beach.

The aśóula-xēl, game of the small whale (Pseudorca crassidens /the "false killer" whale/). First of all the men form a long row in the manner described above, and the row leans against an identical, shorter one. The former represents haśuwápisa, and the latter, aśóula. The accompanying song is similar to the previous one, but the howling of the long row is fainter and more doleful. Both rows slide along simultaneously, but very clumsily. After a while the men in the shorter row brace themselves with all their strength against the men in the longer one. The latter groan most pitifully, the cry gradually subsides, and the row collapses: the aśóula has "fatally wounded" the haśuwápisa and the latter "dies."

The ilawáia-xēl, game of the kite (Catharista atratus). The men and women crowd close together and assume a squatting position. Their half-open hands rest loosely on the ground and scratch in the sand. They very accurately imitate the rustling beat of the hard, stiff wing feathers of the vulture. A few persons hop about happily,

/1476 cont./

524 turning in one place or moving forward stiffly. They often interrupt their constant singing with screeches of joy. They grasp a /1477/ a piece of skin with both hands and slap it against the ground or pull it through the sand. This vulture ploughs up the ground in exactly the same way with its wings. Other persons move forward in long steps, spasmodically, as it were. Still others hop with their arms partly raised. In all this one recognizes the movements of ilawā́ja. Compare Figure 10 of the photogravure plates /at the end/.

The yo'ckalía-xēl, game of the hawk (Milvago chimango). This is almost the same as the preceding one in its movements, but the melody is different. Besides, the gestures are much more amusing and livlier; the striding motions are slightly springy and graceful. The short, shrill cry repeated by individual persons cannot be distinguished from that of this predatory bird.

The kĕtḗla-xēl, game of the great gerfalcon (Polyborus tharus). When the special song is in full swing, a few men and women step out of the circle of participants to the open fire. Here they squat down, resting their open hands lightly on the ground. They repeatedly shake their outstretched arms, just as the falcon shakes its half-open wings. They also make brief rolling motions, exactly like the falcon when it lifts itself up to fly. At the same time their hands are three-quarters open and their fingers spread apart. With the upper part of their bodies bent forward, they scratch busily in the sand with their hands, an activity that the gerfalcon very much enjoys. A gay, shrill cackle is often heard. The people present toss a piece of meat into the circle of players. One or another will grasp the piece with his teeth. Immediately another player jumps up, bites at the piece of meat, and tugs at it impatiently until someone else comes up. Anyone who has torn off a piece cackles loudly and hides it from another person who might snatch it away from him. All the movements are very lively, the leaps gaily excited, and the shrill cries of kē kē... or xī xī...or ye ye...are loud. Toward the end, all the players utter several croaking kĕ kĕ sounds and the spectators answer with loud cries of ho ho as the conclusion.

The gērā́pu-xēl, game of the great albatross (Diomedea exulans, Fig. 88). After the people present have introduced the

/1477 cont./

524 proper melody, a few men and women step inside the small circle. Some of them remain standing; others kneel down and lift their outstretched arms to shoulder height. They keep their arms in this position. The people standing then step slowly forward, gliding past one another and bending the upper part of the body calmly and sedately to one side and then the other. At the same time they move their outstretched arms in wide arcs through the air, but without hitting one another. The moderately loud hoú hoú cries of the gĕrápu are uttered sporadically and very realistically, sounding like a long drawn-out cooing of doves. The players do not actually make striding motions, but glide along the ground. All their movements are extremely elegant, for only /1478/ slim persons play this game which is supposed to show the majestic flight of the albatross over a raging sea. After some time all the players form a circle, take each other's hands, their arms only slightly held out from their bodies, and slowly walk around the fire. They huddle down several times for a few seconds and then get up again, for the albatrosses, too, sometimes alight on the water close together. While this circle is slowly moving, a woman approaches it; in passing, each one takes a swallow of water from the mussel shell which she holds up to his mouth, for the albatross, too, occasionally comes to the shore for water. When the loud, high-pitched cries of ho ho resound from the group of spectators, the players cease their graceful body movements. Compare Figure 11 of the photogravure plates /at the end/.

The tákaša-xĕl, game of the loud gull (Larus belcheri). The participants are mainly girls and young [illegible], who crowd close together and remain for some time in a [illegible] position. They get up, hold hands, and move about in a circle several times. After they have crouched down, one of them will try to induce another to get up by uttering shrill xa xa cries. Indeed, one or another of them jumps up, bends the upper part of her body partly forward, and keeps her arms bent at the elbow at right angles. This is a favorite position of this gull when it sights its prey. Later when the players again squat on the ground in a closed circle, a woman hastens past them and lets each one take some water out of a mussel shell, for tákaša, too, drinks fresh water. Amid loud cries of xa xa the players all get up and go back to their places.

/1478 cont./

The šĕkuš-xĕl, game of the Molinas goose (Chloephaga hybrida /kelp goose/). The men and women who step inside the open circle bend their bodies slightly forward from the waist, bend their knees considerably, hold their upper arms horizontally at shoulder height, and let the lower arms fall down loosely from the elbow at right angles. They remain in a squatting position until the song of the people present is loud enough. All get up and again assume the position just described, while the men utter lively xi xi calls and the women joyous xa xa calls. Then they hop every which way in a crowded heap, and amid loud ps ps calls, every man seeks either his own wife or a woman friend. This pair hops happily up and down on the same spot; the two gaze at each other lovingly and beat or stroke each other with their "wings." The man repeats his ps ps calls and the woman her xa xa calls very animatedly; he taps her on the shoulders and she taps him on the hips. This pair hops and giggles until another man moves up to the woman and shoves the first man aside. The happily excited song of the spectators encourages the pair in their charming love-play, until it is ended with loud cries of ho ho. It is well known that šĕkuš is strictly monogamous.

The kímoa-xĕl, game of the Magellan goose (Chloephaga picta). In this game, too, the people leave a central circular area free. The players /1479/ assume the position they take in the šĕkuš-xĕl. First a few of them remain in the squatting position for a short time; then a man rises, moves to a woman he is fond of, taps her on the shoulders, and thus invites her to the love-play. She rises at the same time. These two persons, facing each other, take turns in loudly twittering xa xa... and xi xi... and hop hither and yon. Then they separate again and form couples with other persons. The short striding motions are stiff, like those of kímoa. As in the šĕkuš-xĕl, the love-play of this species is also portrayed very realistically indeed. The two games are clearly distinguished by their melodies.

The ulpĕrĕ́ĕ-xĕl, game of the oyster catcher (Haematopus ater, Fig. 76). Several persons, huddled together, hop into the circle. Again and again they bow their heads almost to the ground, support themselves on their arms, and constantly repeat short pit pit calls. Three or four hop simultaneously to the same place, bow their heads several times, and repeat the pit pit calls. This is

/1479 cont./

524 exactly the way the oyster catcher behaves on the beach. Amid shrill sounds of š š, all the players rise up at once, as though a flock of these birds were flying off. They disperse to loud ho ho cries of the spectators.

The touwíšiwa-xēl, game of the Vigua cormorant (Phalacrocorax olivaceus). Several women squat beside the fire or in the open space amidst the group of people who have begun singing the melody. They use their fists for support in such a way that thumb and forefinger are pressed against the earth. Hopping gently, they move in this crouched position and give a good imitation of the waddling walk of the cormorant (Fig. 105). Now and then they twitter xī xī... as they push past one another. Finally they form a circle, hold hands, rise, and go around the circle a few times. A woman stands beside this circle, holding a mussel shell filled with water in her left hand and a little twig in her right hand, with which she bespatters everyone who glides past her, "for when touwíšiwa build their nests, they come to the shore, drink water, and spatter it in all directions." At a sign from the leader, this game is ended with loud cries of ho ho.

Sometimes the calls of the winefkēra are heard during the course of the individual games. The games are put on in the čiéxaus hut and not in full view of the public because "the animals imitated were formerly human beings and much of what happened to them is known." I did not have an opportunity to see some of these games, for example, the lakúma-xēl; the people were not sure enough of the melody. Instead, Nelly Lawrence and elderly women told me about the following custom. Formerly the Yamana made these games even more realistic by actually masking the participants. Each one wrapped himself up completely in a sea-lion skin from which the head had not yet been cut off, or he placed /1480/ a piece of skin over his head so that only part of his face was uncovered and put a few large teeth of the sea lion into his mouth so that they protruded very prominently. All the people thus masked very carefully imitated the movements and the behavior of the sea lions while they moved from the čiéxaus hut to the shallow water at the beach. Clumsily they slid into the sea and squirted themselves with water out of sheer exuberance. If while this was going on several women succeeded in surrounding a man, they kept

/1480 cont./

him encircled and led him back to the Čiexaus hut. It was only here that the victorious women released him amid loud hoots. The Yamana of earlier times also had appropriate masks for the other imitative games. In any case, however, the games gave all the participants great enjoyment. Naturally, the men to this day also entertain themselves now and then with games for practice, some of which are popular among young people (p.577); during these games they try, at the same time, to become more proficient in handling their weapons. They never have races, however, which Bridges (a):209 mentioned. Their many other amusements, which never bore them, are amply sufficient for them and relax them.

H. Characteristics of Yamana Culture

The numerous details presented in this book characterize the economy of the Yamana as one at the gathering stage. Everything that these natives need and use is simply taken by them in the form offered voluntarily by nature. They themselves make no effort to produce the materials they need or to raise plants and animals. Thus, these people are wholly dependent on their environment.

Such a relationship, however, is not one of total inactivity or indifference on the part of man. His entire attention and untiring efforts were always directed toward utilizing the conditions imposed by the given environment and controlling natural forces as much as possible. By doing so he finally achieved an adaptation to his environment which could scarcely be improved upon under existing conditions. In my opinion, his economy, as a whole and in its details, represents optimum adaptation. I have often referred to the high degree of efficiency of most of the arrangements of the Yamana and the amazing effectiveness of their weapons which require a minimum of human effort. The reason that the Fuegian did not achieve more in his economy is by no means because he lacks the necessary physical equipment or mental powers. It is the environment itself which has set insurmountable barriers to his efforts toward progress. He has truly pushed ahead to these barriers by creating his unique, very

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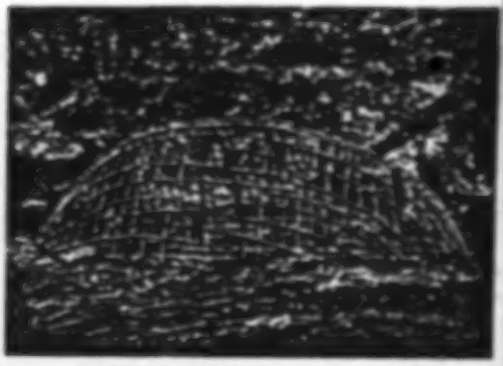
Single Hut



Community Hut

524

Waiyandella Game

Haiyekasanaskwa Game

[291]

Former Clothing

Vulture Game

Albatross Game

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 5316 Yahgan 5316

517 A great deal of *Yahgan* recreation was incidental to the initiation and other rites and through the feasting and social activities that accompanied set events such as marriages, or chance meetings of families at camps, or larger gatherings of longer duration occasioned by treasure trove in the shape of stranded whale. In connection with some of even the more solemn rites there were intervals of free play releasing tensions developed during the more serious phases of the rites.

376 [493] Narcotics were totally lacking. No alcoholic or other intoxicating beverages were made or used by the *Yahgan* before their contact with the Whites. Nor was tobacco grown or in any form used.

531 Art.—There was no form of sculpture or of carving in wood. The only designs, if they can be called such, were the lines, dots, and circles used in face and body painting and in the ornamentation of lodges and paraphernalia in connection with the major rites (fig. 14). There was a certain crude artistry in bodily decorations and in the personal adornments referred to elsewhere in the present paper.

All in all, there are few if any peoples in the world that possessed a more rudimentary esthetic development than the *Yahgan* and their neighbors, the *Alacaluf* and *Ona*.

526 Games and sports.—There was no gambling, no games with elaborate rules, no team games unless group wrestling could be called such, and no competitive games except wrestling.

524 857 Boys practiced with the spear, bow and arrow, and sling, and at stone throwing, but this was as much vocational as recreative activity.

There were certain quite simple children's play activities, such as swinging, rolling down hillocks, endurance hopping on one foot, and group play such as trenalára, in which boys and girls crouched in a line one behind the other, sang together a melody in which the meaningless word "trenalára" was repeated, and slowly danced rocking back and forth in imitation of a canoe making its way forward through the waves. Songs sung on one long meaningless word were [533] common accompaniments of children's group play.

[481] All the women could swim; the men could not. Recreative swimming was rarely indulged in.

524 Adults' games, in some of which the children could participate, were equally simple. Such were: blindman's-buff, hopping and singing at the same time, throwing small burning sticks in the air, standing in a circle through which "it" in the middle tried to break. The ball game was popular: A ball made of seal gut stuffed with feathers or 526 grass was kept in the air by the players with strokes from the palm of the hand. Men and women might play the ball game together.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S386 Yahgan S386

end to form four prongs which were sharpened and hardened in the fire (fig. 84, *b*). These prongs were wedged apart with small wooden toggles held in place by a lashing of either braided grass or whalebone. The head was lashed to the shaft with a seal-hide thong. 411

5. LIMPET-SPEAR.—The limpet-spear (*kuldáwa*) had either the fish or the crab spearshaft. It is seen with the former in fig. 79, *a*. The head (fig. 84, *a*) had but two prongs with flat, chisel-like blades. They were forced slightly apart by a small toggle.

BOW AND ARROW

In the old days, according to all accounts, the Yahgan habitually used the bow and arrow, but during the last half of the nineteenth century this weapon rapidly fell into disuse, until by the end of the century the bow had become a toy for children. [524]

FIG. 85.—Yahgan bone arrowpoint. (After Hyades and Deniker.)

According to Fitzroy (1839, pp. 184, 187) the Yahgan everywhere arrowed birds and, in the east, guanaco. Their bows he described as three or four feet long and "quite plain." The arrows were two feet in length, well polished, and with the points so loosely attached that they remained in the flesh when the shaft was withdrawn (fig. 85).

An example of Yahgan bow which the Rev. John Williams kindly allowed the writer to examine had been given to his children several years ago as a toy. In general type it resembled the Ona bow, like which it was fluted, a characteristic due, I suspect, to contact with the Ona at Harberton. However, it was much shorter than the Ona bow, and much more curved, especially at the ends. This latter feature may have been accidental, for guanaco-sinew has a tendency to shrink for many years, and the writer has noted in museums Ona bows unduly curved owing to the increasing tension of the cord.

The arrows were short, clumsy, and untapered—very crude

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
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517 sport, the practical aspect of gaining a livelihood and a desire to
526 imitate the grown men must have been the underlying motive.
857 Wrestling was not uncommon, and was an extremely rough sport, so much so indeed that death sometimes ensued. Rev. Thomas Bridges (1884, p. 179) recognizes two types of wrestling: one between individuals known as *kahleka*, another between two groups known as *angiana*.

524 Of the simpler amusements the children had several of the "follow-
851 my-leader" type, they used a swing, they had a simple ball-game like the Ona, and they painted themselves in the style of their elders and inserted short sticks in their lips, nostrils, and eyelids. Games of these kinds have been studied by Koppers (1924).

533 Of Yahgan songs Mr. Bridges (op. cit., p. 177) recognizes several varieties. The first group, called *loima*, are songs of blood revenge; another type, called *telania*, are songs of mourning; the *arua* songs are peculiar to the medicine-men; finally there are songs called *jucos* which are sung by everybody. This last class are usually mythological in subject matter. The same authority says that the
535 dances are called *uona*. People may dance alone, in couples, or in groups, and in a circle holding hands or in line.

526 The Yahgan had no foot-racing or water sports of any kind.

Feuds

578 In general the Yahgan were not an amicable people, according
628 to most accounts. When two groups camped together trouble usually arose, and the weaker group moved away. This as well as the food quest accounts for their frequent changes of residence. Sometimes a fight might start between two individuals and then all their friends and relatives joined, probably in an endeavor to stop the encounter but sometimes to aid their man. Clubs, paddles, spears, slings, and stones were the weapons used. General mêlées, however, can not have been common, for Rev. Thomas Bridges sponsors the statement[1] that in the thirteen years between 1871 and 1884 only twenty-two murders had taken place. I have no figures for the Ona, but killings must have been much more frequent among them than among the Yahgan.

628 The causes of quarrels among the Yahgan were such as are found among all primitive tribes, namely, insult, theft, adultery, and the

[1] In *South American Missionary Magazine*, London, 1884, p. 224.